

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 00564 180328Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 IO-13
AID-05 EA-07 /081 W
-----180335Z 073588 /64

R 171130Z JAN 77
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9509
INFO AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

C O N F I D E N T I A L ISLAMABAD 0564

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PK, IN, PFOR
SUBJ: GOP RELEASES WHITE PAPER ON KASHMIR

1. AS PAKISTAN'S ELECTION CAMPAIGN BEGINS THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS RELEASED ON JANUARY 14 A WHITE PAPER ON THE KASHMIR DISPUTE. THIS POLEMIC NOT SURPRISINGLY BLAMES PAKISTAN'S PAST LEADERS FOR MAKING MONUMENTAL BLUNDERS OVER THE KASHMIR DISPUTE; CRITICIZES BRITISH OFFICIALS FOR THEIR ROLE IN ENHANCING THE DISPUTE BECAUSE OF THEIR PARTIALITY TOWARD INDIA; THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA FOR DOUBLE-DEALING, TREACHERY, AND INTRANSIGENCE IN THE FACE OF UNDERSTANDINGS REACHED THROUGH THE UNITED NATIONS; AND THE MAHARAJA OF KASHMIR FOR HIS PRO-INDIA LEANINGS DESPITE THE WILL AND INCLINATIONS OF THE MUSLIM MAJORITY OF KASHMIR. ALSO, AS EXPECTED, THE WHITE PAPER DOCUMENTS HOW ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO CORRECTLY ASSESSED THE INTERNATIONAL RAMIFICATIONS OF THE SITUATION THROUGHOUT HIS GOVERNMENT CAREER AND FORMER LEADERS NEVER GAVE HIM THE CREDENCE HE DESERVED.

2. THE WHITE PAPER ASSERTS THAT TODAY THE GOP, UNDER BHUTTO'S GUIDANCE, IS FOLLOWING A CORRECT APPROACH TO THE KASHMIR
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ISLAMA 00564 180328Z

DISPUTE. WHILE THE GOP ON THE ONE HAND SEEKS EARNESTLY TO NORMALIZE ITS RELATIONS WITH INDIA, WHATEVER NORMALIZATION THAT TAKES PLACE CANNOT ECLIPSE THE FACT THAT THE KASHMIR DISPUTE EXISTS. THE GOP'S POSITION IS THAT AS LONG AS THE KASHMIR DISPUTE IS NOT JUSTLY SETTLED, "UNSTABILITY (SIC) AND DISCORD WILL HAUNT THE REGION" AND THE TWO NATIONS WILL BE UNABLE TO ESTABLISH RELATIONS AS GOOD NEIGHBORS.

3. THE PAPER IS ALSO CRITICAL OF THE USG. AT ONE POINT IT CRITICIZES THE "ALLIANCE" BETWEEN THE US AND PAKISTAN FOR ENABLING THE GOI TO ESCAPE THE NEED TO DEMILITARIZE "OCCUPIED KASHMIR" TO FACE CHINESE INCURSIONS. THE PAPER ALSO EXTENSIVELY QUOTES CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN THEN AMBASSADOR GALBRAITH AND THE PAK HIGH COMMISSIONER IN NEW DELHI, DEPARTMENT INSTRUCTIONS TO GALBRAITH, AND COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN GALBRAITH AND AMBASSADOR MCCONAUGHY DURING THE SINO-INDIA CONFRONTATION OF 1962, AS WELL AS PAK AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS TO DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON. PAPER ALSO QUOTES FROM JANUARY 13, 1963 CONVERSATION BETWEEN PAK AMBASSADOR, SPECIAL ENVOY AND PRESIDENT KENNEDY. PAPER CONCLUDES THAT DURING SINO-INDIA CONFRONTATION PAKISTAN SHOULD HAVE REJECTED US COUNSEL OF RESTRAINT BECAUSE THIS AMERICAN ADVICE WAS ILL-SUITED TO PAKISTAN'S POLICY INTEREST IN USING INDIA'S NEED TO COUNTER THE CHINESE MILITARILY TO PAKISTAN'S ADVANTAGE IN THE KASHMIR AREA. PAPER BUTTRESSES THIS CONCLUSION WITH GENEROUS QUOTATIONS FROM TALKS BETWEEN DEPARTMENT AND GOP OFFICIALS.

4. TIMING OF PUBLICATION OF WHITE PAPER, WHICH WE UNDERSTAND HAS BEEN IN THE WORKS FOR THE PAST TWO MONTHS UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF BHUTTO'S KASHMIRI SPECIAL ASSISTANT YUSUF BUCH, IS OBVIOUSLY TIED TO ELECTION CAMPAIGN. THE OPPOSITION HAS IN THE PAST CRITICIZED THE PM FOR BEING "SOFT" ON INDIA, AND ALTHOUGH HE HAS MADE AN OBVIOUS AND IN OUR VIEW EFFECTIVE EFFORT OVER PAST SIX MONTHS TO MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR HIS OPPONENTS TO MAKE MUCH POLITICAL MILEAGE ON THIS LINE, AT LEAST ONE SENIOR OPPOSITION LEADER HAS RECENTLY STATED THAT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ISLAMA 00564 180328Z

HE PLANS TO MAKE PAK-INDIA RELATIONS A CAMPAIGN ISSUE. IN ANY EVENT, BHUTTO WILL WANT TO REASSERT IN THIS PRE-ELECTION PERIOD THAT HE HAS ALWAYS BEEN FIRM ON KASHMIR AND RIGHT IN HANDLING OF IT. A SECOND WHITE PAPER ON PAK-INDIAN RELATIONS IS TO BE RELEASED WITHIN ANOTHER COUPLE OF WEEKS AND WE EXPECT THAT IT TOO WILL EMPHASIZE HOW PAKISTAN'S INTERESTS IN ITS DEALINGS WITH INDIA HAVE BEEN SAFEGUARDED BY THE PM BETTER THAN THEY WERE BY PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS. WE BELIEVE THAT BHUTTO SEES THESE PAPERS, AND WHATEVER OTHER STATEMENTS AND ACTIONS HE MAY TAKE BETWEEN NOW AND MARCH 7 AS ELECTION REQUIREMENTS, AND THAT HE DOES NOT MEAN THEM TO SIGNAL A HARDER LINE TOWARD INDIA OR A DESIRE FOR A RETURN TO GREATER CONFRONTATION IN ISLAMABAD/DELHI RELATIONS.

5. PAKISTAN PRESS EDITORIAL COMMENT ON PUBLICATION OF WHITE PAPER HAS PREDICTABLY BEEN OVERWHELMINGLY FAVORABLE. POST WILL POUCH COPY OF WHITE PAPER TO ADDRESSEES.
BYROADE

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PAPERS, DISPUTES, POLITICAL SITUATION, ELECTION CAMPAIGNS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 17-Jan-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977ISLAMA00564
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770017-0974
Format: TEL
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770146/aaaabojf.tel
Line Count: 115
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 5bd5f2d8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15-Nov-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3583660
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: GOP RELEASES WHITE PAPER ON KASHMIR
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, PK, IN
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5bd5f2d8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009